

Union -

1932

July 23 - August 3
1934

Yale

Sept. 28 - Dec. 21
1938

SEES REDS USING ROMAIN ROLLAND

Socialist International Leader
Writes Author He Is Dupe in
"United Front" Manoeuvre.

ANTI-WAR CONGRESS ISSUE

Contradictions on Time and Place
in Appeals Arouse Friedrich
Adler's Suspicions.

Special Correspondence, THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ZURICH, July 15. — That Romain Rolland, the French author and peace advocate, is being used by Communist elements in Russia and other countries for the purpose of promoting another "united front" manoeuvre is intimated in a letter sent to M. Rolland by Frederick Adler, secretary of the Socialist International, which has its headquarters in this city.

"More than two months ago," said Mr. Adler, "you took the initiative with Henri Barbusse and Maxim Gorky for an international congress against war. The invitation to this congress was also sent by Félicien Châlajay on your instructions to Comrade Emile Vandervelde, president of the Labor and Socialist International. There are contradictions between the various appeals that you have published on this matter.

"Your first appeal of April 25, which appeared at your desire in the Moscow Pravda on April 29, proposed holding the congress on June 28, the bloody anniversary of Sarajevo. Your committee later postponed the date for the congress by one month, namely, till July 23, and this new date, as far as I can see, was mentioned for the first time in your second appeal, which appeared on May 24. In this second appeal Geneva is given as the place of the congress.

A Third Appeal.

"I mention these facts expressly as it is now stated in your third appeal—that is, the one which was sent to Vandervelde at the end of June—that the time and place of the congress are to be fixed by an organizing committee that has yet to be set up.

"The principal question which has to be made clear for us is whether your May appeal is canceled by your June appeal. From this depends whether a new organizing committee, in which the great labor organizations will be represented according to their importance, will really be set up, or whether the labor organizations will only be received at the last moment into an organizing committee that has been functioning on another basis for two months.

"In this connection it is important to state that the president of the Labor and Socialist International did not receive your invitation until two months after your first appeal had been published, and that the International Federation of Trade Unions has not yet received any invitation whatever.

"You say that the organizing committee will not only have to decide as to the place and time but also as to the procedure. This preliminary question of procedure must be completely cleared up before the Labor and Socialist International can de-

cide whether it is in a position to take part in the congress that you have planned.

Cites "Sad Experiences."

"You will not be unaware that the Socialist parties and trade unions have had a long series of sad experiences that have made them exceedingly distrustful of the well-known Communist 'tactic of the united front manoeuvre.'

"I have no suspicion whatever that you are consciously taking part in such a manoeuvre. On the contrary, it is quite clear to me that you have taken your initiative in the full conviction that you are helping forward the struggle against war. But you will understand that we are by no means in a position to accept in advance that there are no members even in your committee who regard it as their principal duty to place the whole of this action at the service of the united front manoeuvre.

"We are in favor of the true unity of the working class, but we are equally determined not to allow ourselves to be misused for the purpose of manoeuvres."

Secretary Adler closed his letter by asking M. Rolland for more definite information as to when and where the new organizing committee was to meet and how it was to function.

According to a statement made public recently by Theodore Dreiser, chairman of the American section of the Anti-War Committee, the first conference of the World Congress Against War will be held in Paris, Aug. 20. It was added that Henri Barbusse, a member of the committee, had severely criticized the municipal authorities of Geneva for barring the congress from that city as having been organized by Communists. M. Barbusse denied this charge.

ROAD-STAND SUCCESS.

Factors That Enter Into It Are Listed.

A neat, attractive and well-planned stand is one of the most effective aids to successful roadside marketing, contends W. C. Krueger, extension agricultural engineer at the New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station.

Location is a factor that should be given due consideration by the prospective roadside market owner, for it is essential that the stand be visible some distance in either direction along the road. Mr. Krueger also advises that cars have easy access to a parking area in order to eliminate the necessity of parking on the highway.

"Neatness is not necessarily expensive," he says. "Give the stand a clean, attractive appearance that will prove inviting to the prospective buyer and see that the structure is provided with an open front that may be closed in inclement weather and during the night. Remember, too, that customers will not stop at a stand where they must open doors to see what is offered.

"Allow plenty of window space and make the display shelves or tables large enough to permit an attractive arrangement of the produce. It is advisable to construct the floors of concrete, covering the approaches with cinders or gravel to avoid having dust around the stand. A color scheme of cream and green gives the desirable effect of coolness, and colored awnings are both an attractive asset to the general appearance of the stand and a protection against the warmth of the sun. An interior sheathed with matched lumber also adds to the appearance of the stand and is no more expensive now than one of composition wallboard.

Shell Road
Corpus Christi, Texas
July 25, 1932

Mr. Kirby Page
347 Madison Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Since your most inspirational address at Commencement at Sam Houston College, Huntsville, Texas, I have received recently your most interesting book, Living Creatively. I shall always treasure this book and am very grateful to the author.

Sincerely,
Robert H. Harris

Dear Kirby: -

Thank you a lot for the books. they are stimulating and I needed something like that. I appreciated your thinking of me in your precious vacation time too.

I thought of Alma this spring when Norman had to be away for three months. I don't wonder at all that she hasn't been feeling well, because when Norman finally got home and my responsibilities lessened I was ready for the Doctor.

I saw Elma Wheatly Hobson Sunday. Do you know of her sister Helen's recent death? It was a horrible shock. They buried her and her fourteen hour old baby boy yesterday afternoon in Des Moines.

We aren't sure where we shall be this winter - these Transfer Insurance contracts take you further and you.

Thank you again for the books
and a big wish for success in all
the things you are working on.

Sincerely

Helen Jarvis Barnes

Tuesday July 26"

1532 B Ave.

Cedar Rapids, Ia.

Tues - 26 -

Dear Kirby, & family

Your letter rec'd yesterday -
expect the book will get here today
will be glad to get it, can read a
lot these long days - thanks a heap

We got rain two days after I
wrote about the heat - & then another
shower two days ago - but so bad
now - but plenty hot to say -

there was quite a wind last shower
blew down two places of the garden
fence - & nearly all of the pears -
but I cooked - & canned them all -
made a grape pie yesterday - good to

mashed - went through a sieve & got
out seed - then made something
like lemon pie - we do not eat
near so much as we did - only
we still eat melons moderately -
the Muly cows calf is a beef -
so there will be more meat to come
for winter - unless we can sell it -
have to sell some flyers - sure
wish you people had them - but
large ones will bring 25 cts -
get about six doz eggs - ten cts -
& Thank God every day for this
quiet - peaceful life - not even
bothered with Politics - M - quit going
to Church until cooler - Love Mother

GOVERNING BOARD

Charles B. Voorhis, Chairman
James A. Blaisdell
John R. Boardman
Royal R. Bush
William A. Johnstone
Burt L. Rice
H. Jerry Voorhis
Phone—San Dimas 2583

H. J. Voorhis, A. M., Headmaster

VOORHIS SCHOOL FOR BOYS

OAK KNOLL RANCH

San Dimas, California

July 28, 1932

Mr Kirby Page
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York City

Dear Kirby:

Enclosed is a little pamphleteering venture by a friend of mine and myself, dedicated to a more profound understanding of and clear insight into our present difficulties, and their solution. We have tried to make it simple. We have tried to make it direct. We have tried to make it unprejudiced. I believe that we have succeeded fairly well.

Can you use any of these little pamphlets? We can sell them at five cents apiece for single copies, or a good deal less than that for bundle orders.

We want to begin the sort of propaganda work which has been a part of so many movements for social change in the past --- pamphlets which are either free or cheap but which are well written, direct, and sufficiently simple to be understood by all. We will welcome criticisms, orders, or suggestions for better methods of circulating the pamphlets.

Sincerely yours,

Jerry Voorhis

HJV.MR

Your "Living Creatively" is positively the one most useful single book in this community.

Hotel Nove Moscow, July 29, 1932.

Dear Stalin:

This is my ninth visit to this country in twenty years - twice in Czarist Russia, seven times to the Soviet Union, which has made such astonishing progress especially during the Five Year plan. I am counted a friend of this country and have been working for a decade with my friends Senator Borah, John Dewey, and a dozen others for the recognition of the Soviet Union by the reactionary Government of the United States, so much so that in America it is foolishly said I must be supported by "Moscow gold." I am not a Communist nor a capitalist, but a Socialist; but I want to see this daring undertaking of a classless society under a new social order succeed, and it is succeeding.

I know you are occupied with much more important questions in collectivization, heavy and light industry, etc. I don't ask an interview nor an answer to this letter, which may not even reach you, but I have confidence in you as the one man that can bring victory and success in the face of all these difficulties.

Speaking as a friend of the Soviet Union, not by way of criticism but in kindly suggestion, I may say that your tourist business for foreigners is very badly run. I know the difficulties and I do not expect perfection, busy as you are with more important internal problems, but things are worse this year in many respects than in previous years. Thousands of dollars have been wasted abroad in advertising which was unpsychological, not adapted to foreigners, promising things which could not be fulfilled, and have not been fulfilled. A few thousand dollars spent in making these hotels suitable for foreigners would have brought better results than tens of thousands in unwise advertising which has not been fulfilled. Some of the details which follow may seem trivial in themselves but the efficiency in sum total is by no means trivial.

For instance, I have brought a party of thirty-five writers and speakers this year for my annual visit. When we entered the Soviet Union coming from Helsingfors to Leningrad on the morning of July 23, we wanted to change our dollars into roubles. We were told they had almost none, but they could change one dollar for each or less than two roubles per person. In Leningrad we were placed in the October Hotel. No one there could change a rouble to get a stamp or postcard or anything else. They had in the hotel and in the branch of Torgsin in the hotel almost no change for either dollars or roubles. There was no one in the hotel who could speak English to straighten out our difficulties. There was not a single piece of toilet paper in any room. Fearing this I had brought a suitcase of such necessities which are found in first-class hotels in every other progressive country in the world, but it was held up at the border and not sent as promised to Leningrad. They said there was no official in Leningrad who could receive a bag and open it, so we had to wait two days and send two persons back to the border to get it. In the meantime newspaper had to be used in the toilets, which spoiled the plumbing just as it had in the Grand and Metropole in Moscow year after year. I am not asking for luxuries or comforts, but for sanitation and efficiency, the absence of which makes such a bad impression on tourists.

I realize the difficulties in any new country. Six years ago I found filth and vermin in the hotels of Angora, Turkey. Today their second class hotels are better run for food, cleanliness, sanitation, and efficiency than any hotel in Moscow or Leningrad. Last year at Hotel Europa in Leningrad (1931), one egg in every five was rotten. No amount of caviar or luxury can make up for cleanliness or efficiency with foreigners. In Moscow this year many things are improved; so many well-paved streets and fine new buildings.

GSE

COMISION CONTINENTAL
DE
LAS ASOCIACIONES CRISTIANAS FEMENINAS
(Y. W. C. A.)
AMERICA DEL SUR
SARMIENTO 205652
BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA

July 30, 1932

Dear Kilby Page,

I am sending you a copy
of "Caras y Caretas" (Faces and Masks)
one of the Argentine weekly magazines.

Get some one to translate the
interview with Martens - and if
you can, use it in a future addition
of the W-7 - as a portrait to
Mr Sumner's article on Chile.

It is too early to know who
is correct - but I am rather
inclined to believe that Martens'
feeling that Chile is suffering
from militarism, may be near the
truth. Anyway it's more in
line with our general thoughts about
the world!

I'm sending my friend the story

of the present anglicist between
Bolivia and Paraguay. If it seems
of sufficient interest when I finish
it - I'll send you a copy to use if
you wish in the World Tomorrow.

How go the plans for the
weekly - are they still to the
fore, or does the present world
seem too uncertain one in which
to set sail?

Hope the summer has been
a good one for you and the
family.

Best wishes for the months
ahead in this troubled
world that is ours.

Adieu.

Anna J.

Chicago 7/30/32

Dear Mr Page.

Have wanted to write you since
reading your article in the June
issue "Is Coercion ever justified".
But just havnt had time. I
do hope you can give us more
of this non-violent philosophy
in the coming weekly issues.

7030 Stewart Ave.

OW Balch



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mr. Kirby Page, Editor
The World Tomorrow,
52 Vanderbilt Ave.,
New York, N.Y.

Heath Mass. July 30.

Dear Kirby:

The notes you were good enough to send me on India are simply invaluable. I can make great use of them. I have just finished the fifth chapter of my book. The title will be: Moral Men and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics. The first five chapters are: 1. The Art of Living Together. 2. The Rational Resources of the Individual for Social Life. 3. The Religious Resources of the Individual for Social Life. 4. The Morality of Nations. 5. The Moral Attitudes of Privileged Classes.

The other chapters are: 6. The ~~Elkixax~~ Paradox of Proletarian Ethics. 7. Elimination of Injustice Through Rational and Moral Suasion. 8. Elimination etc Through Political Pressure. 9. The Problem of Revolution. I have been digging away in many histories to get my material for the first chapters. The rest will be systematic rather than historical. Since I have only five chapters finished I will have to work like hell to get the book finished.

Will you tell someone in the office to be sure and see that in any future announcements my position is not given as "visiting professor at Yale". I asked Mac twice to eliminate this as it is very embarrassing to me. I have no connection with Yale and the fact that I lectured there two years ago gives me neither the right nor the desire to mention the fact. Please make sure that that line is killed for good.

Excuse my brief letters. I grudge every minute I spend away from my reading. Have decided to run for congress in my district. They wanted me to run for the senate but I declined so that I wouldn't not have to accept out of town speaking engagements.

Yours always

Rein

Will return your notes soon. R.

Blue Ridge, N. C., August 1st

Dear Devere:

'Twas good to get your letter of July 15th. Am keenly interested in what you write about the 2% movement. In the light of what you say we will hold your War Resisters article for the November issue. We have so many articles scheduled for this issue that it will be necessary to keep each one within two page. You will know where to cut it.

What you write about the European situation is interesting and disturbing. Send along an editorial or two or three if you can find time to pound them out. Our readers covet more outpouring from your pen!

Reinie will be in England for three weeks in September. Are you planning to cross the channel during that period? We are eager to have you back in the land of 25 cent wheat!

Affectionately yours,

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

383 BIBLE HOUSE · ASTOR PLACE · NEW YORK CITY

Cable Address: Fellowship, New York

Telephone: STuyvesant 9-0675

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August 2, 1932

Mr. Kirby Page
347 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Page:

I am enclosing a carbon copy of a
letter received from T. D. Walzer of Tokyo,
which Mr. Sayre requested me to send to you.

Very sincerely yours,

Eva Shulman

File Clerk

ES

AUG 5 1932	
Cash Inc.	
Receipt Sent	
Acknowledged by	
Records made	

1012 S. Market Ave.,
Springfield Mo.,
Aug. 3, 1932.

Mr. Kirby Page,
Editor World Tomorrow,
347 Madison Ave.,
New York City.

Dear Mr. Page:

You will see from the other side of this letter that things have worked out for us to get away to China. We leave Springfield in just two weeks and sail the 20th. We very much want to have the World Tomorrow in our Home in China so we are writing to ask that you put us on your mailing list. Our address in China is 23 Yuen Ming Yuan, Room 529 Shanghai, China. We would like very much to have the July and August numbers to be sent to us at our boat so that we can have them to read on the way over. Our boat address is President Madison, Sailing August 20, American Mail Line, Seattle Washington. If you are presenting a club with the Intercollegian we would like very much to have the club. Please mail the bill for a year's subscription to us at this address by return mail so that we can remit the amount before leaving here on August 16.

We are looking forward to three days in Japan with a very brilliant young Doctor of International Law in Kobe and hope to get a little first hand knowledge of what is going on in that country at this time. We might attempt a brief write up if we run across some interesting things there.

With best wishes for the success of the World Tomorrow as a weekly and for you in your work, I am,
Sincerely,

Gerald F. Winfield

Brookhaven, Mississippi,
Fourth of July, 1932.

Friends and Countrymen!

Somehow we don't like to blow out of the country without greeting you and telling you where we expect to spend the first half of the next decade. We haven't been very faithful about letters ourselves but just the same we want you to know where you can send yours. But it is just because we are so soon to go bag and baggage across the Pacific that we can't be sure that in between visits with our families and purchases of wool socks and steamer trunks we will be able to get a long personal letter off to all of our friends. Hence this ridiculous mimeographed letter that contains nothing but bare facts because that's all mimeographed letters can contain.

The first fact is that we have celebrated our first wedding anniversary, pinching ourselves because it seems too impossible that two people could have experienced twelve months of such exquisite happiness. Last summer at "Bug Camp" was delightful and this past winter in east Baltimore has been so significant ---- Jerry managed to get "doctored" by Johns Hopkins and Louise managed to keep house and support Jerry by Teaching singing! Don't misunderstand she wasn't really paid for her musical ability-- she was paid to do various things in the Baltimore Y.W.C.A. --- mainly club work with Polish and Italian children --- and the singing was just a spontaneous donation.

Until the middle of May we were wondering how it would be to live on love next winter since it didn't look as if there would be anything else for us to live on. The Methodist Mission Board decided they couldn't send us to Soochow University and there seemed to be an abundance of Zoology teachers in this country. But the Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. must have heard of our plight because the night Jerry finished his oral examination we had a telegram informing us that we had been accepted for missionary service in Shantung Mission, China. We sail on the Dollar Line ship President Madison from Seattle, August 20 ---- spend next winter in Peking Language School and after that establish ourselves at Tsinan where Jerry will teach biology in Cheeloo University (Shantung Christian University is the English name.)

The next day after we got this news we started toward Mississippi in our car -- helped get Jerry's sister Ruth married to Joe Brown Love and then took Jerry's mother and drove back to New York for a few days in the Presbyterian Board rooms and an eight day Conference for outgoing Missionaries at Hartford Connecticut. We stopped back by Baltimore and packed worms and art treasures and sent them on their way in oilcloth lined boxes. We came back to Mississippi for a visit with Jerry's parents and now we are on our way to Missouri to stay with Louise's parents (1012 S. Market, Springfield Mo.,) until about August 15 th.

We want you to know that we are aware of the comradeship that is ours with all whom we have known as friends. News from you will always be welcome in our household. Our China forwarding address is: Care of China Council Office, 23 Yuen Ming Yuen, Room 519, Shanghai, China.

Louise and Jerry Winfield

*Please return
to K.P.*

YALE UNIVERSITY
DIVINITY SCHOOL
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

DEPARTMENT OF HOMILETICS
HALFORD E. LUCCOCK

Charlotte, Vt.
August 5, 1932.

Mr. Kirby Page
Black Mountain, N. C.

Dear Kirby:

I am thoroughly ashamed for not having written you sooner. I got your last letter when I was at Union Seminary for a couple of weeks the last of July, but I missed out. Now I am up here in Vermont for a ~~xx~~ vacation of three weeks or so.

Thanks for the article from the International Journal of Ethics on Religion and Social Idealism of Social Effort. I will be glad to try to do something in that general theme for September.

Let me tell you of a couple of other things which I think might be done with some usefulness perhaps. One is not so definitely in the religious field strictly, but I think it could be well landed upon while the campaign is on. You have doubtless already provided for it. I am afraid the politicians have been successful in making the election turn on the prohibition issue. In this the liquor complex which has been fastened in the minds of the millions of Protestant church members will play into their hands beautifully. In spite of all that the eye can see in the United States to-day, millions who ought to be able to be counted on to bring the religious momentum for social change, will go out to the polls and vote for The Great Engineer, under the delusion that he is the standard bearer of God, in that the platform is one half of one per cent drier than the Democrats. The Christian Century, in its perfectly appalling moral obtuseness in this matter, is a fair indication of what is happening.

What I believe would be worth while would be an article showing that if the church people in this crisis, see only the prohibition issue, they will have had their day of visitation and known it not;

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DEPARTMENT OF HOMILETICS
HALFORD E. LUCCOCK

and that to fail to see the challenge to the Christian religion in this economic collapse, will be to forfeit any hope of moral leadership in the country for a generation or more. Perhaps permanently. People who go to the polls to write their ballots, thinking only of the dry issue, will also ~~write~~ write something else on them: Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting".

Another thing I want to try is an article entitled "Snores". It is based on the incident at the opening of the States General in France in 1789, at the opening ~~of~~ session, while the Bisop of Nancy was outlining the conditions which cried out for a new type of statesmanship, Louis XVI after the first two paragraphs went sound asleep and the reast of the address was punctuated with the Royal Snores. I am collecting utterances of the great in these days, which are just snores in the midst of similar conditions and dangers to-day, all the way down from Hoover's lovely "back log against hunger" to the advice of our infantile Secretay of the Interior Wilbur to the unemployed to visit our National Parks and forget the depression.

I am glad that you are ~~ix~~ planning a page of nasty humor and sarcasm. What I would like to do is to send in to the office paragraphs and stuff without any special assignment, which you will be perfectly free to throw away. If any of it fits in at all, you can use it.

I think the field of the World Tomorrow has been greatly increased this summer by what at least a score of men from various sections of the country have called the complete collapse of the Christian Century. I can't understand it-- except that Morrison has been obsessed with a sort of Mystical Republicanism, a weird mixture of Holy Trance and party regularity. It is rapidly losing to the paper the confidence of the ablest ministers on its list. As an example of their condition, I suppose you have already seen Paul Hutchinson's letter to "Reinie" which I enclose. I analyze that an an unconscious

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DEPARTMENT OF HOMILETICS
HALFORD E. LUCCOCK

rationalization on Paul's part of the embarrasment of being tied up to an editorial chief, who in this day of starvation, is not going to support Thomas. I wrote Paul that I ascribed his letter to the Heat in Chicago and that he would soon be well!

Am up here on Lake Champlain with the family . And trying to get a book on Preaching stuff in the New translation of the Old Testament done. My boy, 17 years old, discover your book "Living Creatively" at a summer conference in July, and if you ~~xxxxxx~~ could see what it has done and is doing for him , you would be encouraged to go on living for a few weeks longer! Thanks!

Ever,

Hal.

Aug 7.

Dear Kitty:

Your books & India come - I am very
helped. Thank you so much. The notation for
Madison was immediately incorporated into the text.
with I was close to you to show you the
manuscript. Ann is my seventh chapter.

The enclosed came from Francis Wickes
wife. It is good but I am afraid it must
be timely - September 18. might be worth holding.

Give our love to the family.

Yours cordially
Reverie

DEVERE ALLEN
WILTON
CONNECTICUT

August 7, 1932.

Dear Kirby:

The last few weeks have been strenuous, and the one ahead bids fair to be the same. There have been many things to do at The Nation, especially while we are short-handed, and the campaign up here in Connecticut demanded some initial planning in order to make it run along smoothly later. I have at last been able to arrange matters so that I can have a vacation of three weeks, beginning Monday, Aug. 15th and ending on Labor Day. I am sure this will be all right from The World Tomorrow's point of view, for I will interrupt the vacation long enough to do the Survey of the Parties and the Last Word (I think it now should perhaps be called that) for the early September issues.

I will get in touch with Mac and see about arranging my speaking schedule to start after Labor Day full steam ahead.

I am satisfied with your letter of July 1, outlining the terms of our understanding, except that certain comments would be wise to make. First, should our situation necessitate any reduction from the \$5000 salary, time in compensation would have to be given, to enable me, by lectures or writing, to make up the salary to \$5000, which is the minimum on which we can manage. Naturally, therefore, I shall not be likely to approve of any plans which are not essential to our undertaking, and which might result in our losing enough ground financially, so that my salary will fall. Also, it is of extreme importance to have it in the record that I must be given genuine opportunities to solicit funds from really worthwhile prospects, and not have these taken out from under me. Especially do I suggest that I be allowed to solicit help from Mrs. Clyde, with whom I think I have the best chance of success. Another question that troubles me is the reduction in Jim's expected pay for next year; I don't see how I can honorably agree to our proposed arrangement without saying that it must also ultimately be acceptable to him.

I think we must watch for economy all along the line, and this applies to the suggestion regarding long articles to be used later as pamphlets. This I approve of, provided two conditions are met: one, that there be every reason to expect no added cost to the budget; second, that abbreviated forms of the pamphlets be used as articles, so as not to kill off reader-interest with too frequent articles of great length.

By the way, Hugo Van Arx of The Nation is convinced that our present cheaper paper is really likely to cost us more because of its heavier weight per sheet. We ought to investigate this, and I will suggest it to Mac, who, however, may already have gone into this phase of paper stock.

I like the suggested contrast between extravagant Republican and Democratic claims, but I think your High-Pop-a-Lorum etc. for title is pretty terrible. Come across with a better one than

this and all will be forgiven.

There are four articles I could do fairly soon, in the following order. (1) France Moves Peacewards. I have accumulated a lot of interesting and significant unpublished material to show that opinion among the plain people is really swinging in the right direction. (2) We Come Back to Battlefields. The criminal, it is said, always comes back to the scene of his crime. So it is with the people who backed the War. A vivid description of the role that battlefields play in formulating public opinion and policies today. This can be made most interesting, I am sure. (3) Holy War, New Style. This would be a re-write of my paper at the Williamstown Institute of Politics, which seemed to go over pretty well. I think that by stating it in a careful way, as I have, there would be hardly any disagreement on sanctions among us. If necessary, it would only add greater interest if you and Reinie and Paul footnoted comments. But I am willing not to do this one if you have doubts. I have seen, however, no really careful discussion as yet, and the Manchurian report will soon give us an occasion. My piece is already at hand, and could be shot through with quick revision to bring it to date and render it pointed and timely, if you wished. (4) Birmingham's Municipal Bank. I studied this when abroad and investigated their books and reports, and had an interview with the manager. It is really extraordinary --- founded with the aid of the Tory Chamberlain family, and highly successful as pure socialism!

What is to be the title of the news department? I don't think Not in the Headlines sounds important enough, do you? If you have not thought of a title, consider this: News of the New World. By the way, we ought to establish a rule by which each editor would be responsible for sending in just so much stuff as a minimum each week, don't you think? I am more and more convinced that we can make this our greatest circulation-getter. We must not take it too lightly.

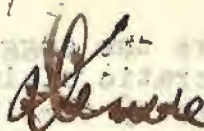
I have been toying with various plans for changes in the former Survey of the Parties. But the more I work on these changes, in a practical and technical sense, the surer I become that the many weary hours spent in working over the same problem in earlier years were not wasted, and I now lean to the same format and general getup we ran in 1924 and 1928. Possibly, however, a different stock and a little color would improve sales. We shall probably have the same number of parties as in 1928. Any suggestions regarding this would be greatly appreciated, pronto.

When do you expect to land in New York?

Re your anti-Foster editorial, don't forget that I have been piling up a lot of cases of deliberate lying against Norman and the S.P.

Hope you are still having a fine time. I don't expect any real let-up during my vacation time, but it will be a change not to be going to N.Y. City every day.

Yours affectionately,



Heath Mass. Aug 10

Dear Kirby:

Thank you for sending me that editorial on Marshall. His suicide was a terrific shock to me and I was glad to get a little more detailed information. Am returning the article by Ward. Your stuff has been a tremendous help to me.

I never wrote you about that declaration of policy to be carried on the masthead. I am not particularly enthusiastic about it but havent any better to offer. My lack of enthusiasm is really due to a doubt that any declaration is a good thing. I would prefer to let the policy of the paper speak for itself. It is very difficult to declare a policy in a few short paragraphs and impossible to do justice to our total viewpoint. How about leaving it out altogether?

Have finished my seventh chapter on "The Ethics of Revolution". Three more chapter to go.

Yours always,

Rein

as from
Friends House
Euston Road
London N.W.1.

10 Aug 1932

Dear Kirby,

I am afraid you must count me
out from the fall campaign. My doctors
would hear of my starting any work till
Christmas. It seems to take a
long time to pull up once one gets
down.

We are staying on this side the
Atlantic for a few months hoping for
complete rest, sun & fresh air

Yours ever

Henry S. Hopkins

All good wishes to the effort
I hate to be out of it.

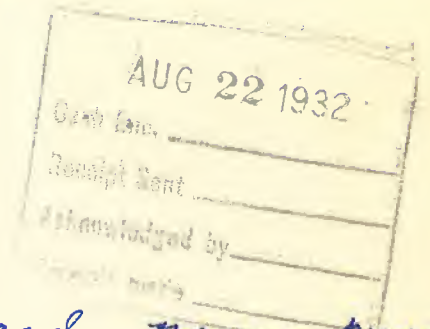
Greenville, Texas
3404 Wesley Street
August 18, 1932

Mr. Kirby Page
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I was in Bayton and heard your message last spring. Since then I have read "Living creatively" and "Jesus or Christianity". With the exception of some doctrinal views, I thoroughly agree with you, especially in the need for social reforms which I believe the teachings of Christ calls for.

I am a pastor-preacher and have been fairly successful in my work, but feel that it does not offer me as wide an opportunity to teach the social reforms I really want to teach. I would like to get into a position similar to that of yours. Of course, I know I will have to train myself much before taking such a position, but I would be willing to take any kind of work which would give me a living until I could get that training.



I am writing you in hopes that you might be able to tell me how to begin in order to find such a position. Or perhaps you might be able to tell me where I could find a position as an assistant so that I could begin preparation for the work of an Editor of a reform publication.

An early reply will be appreciated, also any advice, or information, or help in getting located in such work will be appreciated very much.

Most Sincerely,

S. H. Hooker

all
H

HAROLD E. FEY, EDITOR
MRS. F. M. RAINS, OFFICE EDITOR
MRS. L. MADGE SMITH
MANAGER OF CIRCULATION
AND ADVERTISING

WORLD CALL

INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE FOR DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

MISSIONS BUILDING

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, U. S. A.

PUBLISHED BY
UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY
SOCIETY
BOARD OF EDUCATION
BOARD OF TEMPERANCE AND
SOCIAL WELFARE

August 21, 1932.

Mr Kirby Page,
Editor, The World Tomorrow,
52 Vanderbilt Avenue,
New York.

Dear Friend:

Ever since your announcement appeared that THE WORLD TOMORROW was coming out into the weekly field, it has been my prediction that you will cut the Christian Century subscription list in two within three years. You will do it because The World Tomorrow is prepared to lead the religious forces of this country beyond mild liberalism into the thorough-going radicalism which the times and the Christian gospel unite in demanding. Best wishes!

Enclosed is a half dozen cartoons by Russell O. Berg, a young reporter and cartoonist on the staff of the Indianapolis Times. We used three of his cartoons in our July issue, and received much favorable comment on them, including a request from the Methodist Advocates for the right to reproduce them. Berg said that he had met you, but when I volunteered to call these to your attention, he was glad to have me do it. He is trying to build up a reputation, and so is willing to have you use them without charge.

Is Indianapolis on your itinerary for the winter? It will be good to see you again.

Sincerely,

Harold Fey

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION OF DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

October 12-16, 1932

*Suggest Fey
drop him a
personal line!*

*Cartoons R.O. Berg
reference them
of 12*

THE TENT OF MEETING

Complete Biblical Lesson Passage—Exodus 32 and 33.

High School Theme—TALKING WITH GOD.

Young People's and Adult Theme—BECOMING AWARE OF GOD.

Golden Text—Jehovah spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend. Exodus 33:11a.

The Treasures Beneath: A Worship Service

1. Hymn: "Far Out on the Desolate Billow," stanzas 1, 2.

2. Unison Prayer:

Thou Creator of the universe, we render thanks unto thee for iron, copper, and other metals that make life on earth possible; for coal and other fuels that keep us warm in winter and cook our food; for oils that are useful to man. For these precious gifts from the depths of the earth our hearts are grateful. Amen.

3. Devotional Reading (Job 28:1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 10):

Leader:

Surely there is a mine for silver,
And a place for gold which they refine.

School:

Iron is taken out of the earth,

And copper is molten out of the stone.

Leader:

As for the earth, out of it cometh bread;
And underneath it is turned up as it were by fire.

School:

The stones thereof are the place of sapphires,
And it hath dust of gold.

Leader:

He putteth forth his hand upon the flinty rock;
He overturneth the mountains by the roots.

4. Instrumental Response.

5. Special Feature.

6. Hymn: "Thy Word Is Like a Garden, Lord"
or "This Is My Father's World."

Lesson Passage for Study—Exodus 33:7-16

7 Now Moses used to take the tent and to pitch it without the camp, afar off from the camp, and he called it, The tent of meeting. And it came to pass, that every one that sought Jehovah went out unto the tent of meeting, which was without the camp.

8 And it came to pass, when Moses went out unto the Tent, that all the people rose up, and stood, every man at his tent door, and looked after Moses, until he was gone into the Tent.

9 And it came to pass, when Moses entered into the Tent, the pillar of cloud descended, and stood at the door of the Tent: and Jehovah spake with Moses.

10 And all the people saw the pillar of cloud stand at the door of the Tent: and all the people rose up and worshipped, every man at his tent door.

11 And Jehovah spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend. And he turned again into the camp: but his minister Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man, departed not out of the Tent.

12 And Moses said unto Jehovah, See, thou sayest unto me, Bring up this people: and thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me. Yet thou hast said, I know thee by name, and thou hast also found favor in my sight.

13 Now therefore, I pray thee, if I have found favor in thy sight, show me now thy ways, that I may know thee, to the end that I may find favor in thy sight: and consider that this nation is thy people.

14 And he said, My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest.

15 And he said unto him, If thy presence go not with me, carry us not up hence.

16 For wherein now shall it be known that I have found favor in thy sight, I and thy people? is it not in that thou goest with us, so that we are separated, I and thy people, from all the people that are upon the face of the earth?

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Verse 7.—*Moses used to take the tent:* Whenever the Israelites pitched a new camp, it was his custom to take this special tent, and pitch it *without the camp*, and because it was a sanctuary he pitched it *afar off from the camp*. In Exodus 25:9, where Jehovah begins his description of the tabernacle that is to succeed this "tent of meeting," he says: "Let them make me a sanctuary that I may dwell among them." All through Hebrew history God was thought of as having a local habitation. While we have discarded this idea, we still have our churches, our "places of meeting," dedicated to the worship of God, and

where, in a peculiar sense, our experience proves that we may meet him.

Verse 8.—*When Moses went out unto the Tent:* Since an order of priesthood had not yet been established, Moses was thought of as the high priest of the people, and it was through him that they worshiped. *All the people rose up:* They stood reverently as a mark of respect for their high priest, and also as their method of participation in the worship.

Verse 9.—*When Moses entered into the Tent:* The entrance would naturally be closed behind him. Not only this, but the *pillar of cloud* that had guided them when coming out of

tion of vast financial power in the hands of interlocking directorates, widespread industrial strife and violence, the spy system in industry, decreasing supplies of raw materials, increasing foreign competition, the steady growth of class-consciousness, the deliberate stimulation of new physical desires on a great scale by advertising, industrial waste, the dehumanizing effects of monotonous toil in factories and shops, and the rapid spread of materialism; international dangers arising out of the increasing destructiveness and deadliness of modern war, the growth of industrialism throughout the earth and consequent intensification of competition between the various nations for food, raw materials, markets and fields of investment, exaggerated and irresponsible nationalism, and the prevalence of militarism; racial perils due to discrimination, exploitation, lynching, and mob violence; political perils due to graft and corruption, ignorance and inefficiency, the denial of civil liberties, indifference of voters, and the magnitude and complexity of the problems requiring solution; moral dangers due to crime and lawlessness, a million drug addicts, two

hundred thousand prostitutes, eight million victims of venereal diseases, sordid commercialized amusements, the growth of obscene literature, the deterioration of the home, the increase in divorce, the presence of twenty-seven million children and young people who are not receiving systematic religious instruction—these are some of the perils with which we are confronted."

From *Danger Zones of the Social Order*, by Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page. Used by permission.

What Authority Do You Recognize

Do you consider the Ten Commandments as binding? Are we under compulsion to obey laws given to Israelites three thousand years ago?

We assume that the courts and the police enforce obedience to law. Can they enforce the Ten Commandments?

What about the two commandments given by Jesus? To what extent can the police enforce those? If the police fail who can enforce them?

HOME DAILY BIBLE READINGS FOR NEXT WEEK

Prepared and Issued by the Educational Commission of the International Council of Religious Education

Aug. 15. M. The Tent of Meeting. Ex. 33:7-16.
Aug. 16. T. God Among His People. Ex. 40:34-38.
Aug. 17. W. Acceptable Worship. Isa. 1:10-17.
Aug. 18. T. Motives to Worship. Psa. 99:1-9.

Aug. 19. F. God's House. Acts 7:44-50.
Aug. 20. S. The True Tabernacle. Heb. 8:1-13.
Aug. 21. S. The Prayer Life. Psa. 5:1-7.



HOTEL BOHY LAFAYETTE
SQUARE MONTHOLON
PARIS

TÉLÉPH. 6 LIGNES
Trudaine 81-80
et la Suite
Inter-Trudaine 155
Télégr. BOHYTEL 83 PARIS

Aug 23
Paris

My dear Kirby:

We are ending a
great program in Europe this
week in Paris. I have sent
a final report on Russia
offering it first to the N. T. Y.

You want it and as soon
as the situation clears a little
in Germany I shall write
another on Europe as a whole

submitting it as a report letter
and article.

Things do not look as dark
to me as when I sailed. Then
it seemed the chances were 3 out
of 5 for revolution in Germany
and world war. Now it
seems to me the chances are
not more than 1 in 5 or 2 in 5.
None in Britain and few in Germany
or France think that this will
be the case. I think Reichecker
the most mind and strong man
of Germany can avert revolution
there.



HOTEL BOHY LAFAYETTE
SQUARE MONTHOLON
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and article.

Things do not look as dark
to me as when I sailed. Then
it seemed the chances were 3 to
1 for revolution in Germany
and world war. Now it
seems to me the chances are
not more than 1 in 5 or 2 in 5.
None in Britain and few in Germany
or France think that this will
be the case. I think Schleicher
the most mind and strong man
of Germany can avert revolution
there.

I now go to London (26 Bedford
Place) to write my book. I shall
concentrate upon that one thing.
I do not yet see how I can
finish it in time.

In arranging my schedule
I understand I am to start
in Pittsburgh Monday May 7.
Pearce wanted Sunday 6 but I can't
take it and make Pittsburgh.

Will you please be considerate
in my schedule and leave me
a rest day once a week, not
only nominally but really.

I would always rather work
an extra day if I could reach

New York on a week day
or Toledo for a day of rest
preferably on a Saturday or
Sunday - but any day.

I shall greatly appreciate
it if you simply write in
"rest day" but do it with an
eye on the map as to when
I can really get a rest day &
not just stranded in some
wilderness.

The Lytton report will be
strongly adverse to Japan judging
by a private letter I saw from
Lord R. With much love
Dariusson

PIERCE AND HEDRICK

INCORPORATED

FINANCIAL COUNSEL AND CAMPAIGNS

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500 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
715 RITZ BUILDING, TULSA
100 N. LA SALLE STREET, CHICAGO

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PRESIDENT
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VICE-PRES. & GEN'L MGR.
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VICE-PRESIDENT

C. E. BUCHNER
VICE-PRESIDENT
HARRY D. CROSS
VICE-PRESIDENT
M. B. MACCAULEY
SECRETARY

August 24, 1932

Mr. Kirby Page
347 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Page:

Many times I have met and heard you at the Asilomar Student Conferences and I ^{have} read each one of your publications within my reach. You have been a constant source of inspiration to me and have been most instrumental in forming my personal philosophy toward life. I am sure that this shall continue in the future.

In 1931 I graduated from the College of the Pacific at Stockton and since have been in the employ of Mr. Lyman Pierce, working in the interests of the College of the Pacific. I have been discovering the power and importance of organization for any type of an idea or project that is to be brought before the people.

For several years I have had in the back of my mind the idea that you advanced in regard to a National Department of Peace. This strikes me as a very intelligent and worthwhile idea. I am writing this to ask if there has been anything in the nature of an organization toward the advancement of this idea. I am quite sure that "great oaks from little acorns grow" and I am wondering if you thought anything I might do in my spare time would be worth the effort toward giving this idea a little momentum. I do not mean to start such an organization, of course, but I am wondering if some of my talents could not be used to somehow further the idea.

I would appreciate your frank appraisal of the above.

Very sincerely yours,

Robert E. Burns

Robert E. Burns

REB:JN

Wilton, Conn.

Aug. 26th

Dear Mac and Kirby: (Mac please read letter and enclosure and send on to Kirby)

We are doubtless right in having Brailsford over all others, as a regular columnist --- at least for a while. But we must watch one situation with care. The I.L.P. has disaffiliated with the Labour Party, as you know, and Iaski, who never was much of an I.L.P. man and is something of a whitewasher, has come out against the I.L.P. in The New Clarion, but with a very weak article which completely ignores the main points at issue. E. Frank Wise sticks with the Labour Party too, which is a real loss; but the new organization he plans bids fair to be pretty futile, the ground on which he left the I.L.P. Brailsford not only left the I.L.P. but did so by saying they were "conspicuously silly". The enclosed New Leader gives only the I.L.P. side, but you will see as usual how they are the really fair and decent ones in argument, and not those who accuse them so glibly of being super-radicals and extremists. I am mainly with the I.L.P., but think that they might perhaps better have waited so as to make their fight on a new rather than a semi-old issue.

The point for us is, of course, whether Brailsford will use the W.T. for attacks on the I.L.P. If he does, I hope we will dissociate ourselves from him, though I don't think we should unthinkingly accept the I.L.P. case. But I get about every important British labor paper, and have sized it up carefully, and as I said, when I finished my investigation last year, British labor must go through two disillusionments --- one with MacDonaldism and one with Hendersonism. They are going through the first but not yet the second. The I.L.P. is the only one of the British groups which in practice as well as theory approximates our own S.P. and the W.T. also.

I hope the fact that Brailsford is covering much British ground will not preclude my doing an article on the British Labor situation just as soon as the British Labor Party conference is due or is completed in October. There is a lot of stuff I have to say that nobody seems to be saying, and I know my onions on this question.

But meantime we must be sure to see that the I.L.P. case --- which Norman Thomas endorsed in a guarded sentence in the last New Leader --- is not obscured by the propaganda of its opponents.

D.A.

Inveresk, Scotland,
8/28/1932.

Dear Kirby,--

It isnt often that I differ from your judgment on international questions. But I am sure you are dead wrong on this issue of debt cancellation. Have you space for this little statement of dissent?

In any event, do back Borah up on his present stand. It may be a forlorn possibility. But it is about the last hope for effective disarmament. Peace sentiment at home needs to learn the utter hopelessness of results from the disarmament conference. Also the true facts about the relative inconsequence of the debt factor in the total economic situation.

Ever affectionately,

H. P. V. S.

P.S. Thank you for having "The Personality of Jesus" and "Living Creatively" sent to me. I have read the former and dipped into the latter with keenest interest and appreciation. The latter is a perfect mine of challenging and inspiring material. I cannot imagine a more useful thing to set a student's teeth into.

Please have your secretary send me a postcard with the amount I owe on these.

47 K Page
ALGER PRESSCLIPPING BUREAU
252 Third Ave., New York
CLIPPING FROM

N.Y. WORLD TELEGRAM

30 AUG 1932

A SYMPOSIUM on socialism, entitled "Socialist Planning and a Socialist Program," is announced for publication September 12 by the Falcon Press. The book is edited by Harry W. Laidler for the League for Industrial Democracy, who also contributes a chapter on "The State and Socialism."

Other contributors include Stuart Chase, Paul Blanshard, Felix S. Cohen, Morris Hillquit, Kirby Page, Louis Waldman, Jessie Hughan, McAllister Coleman, Robert Morse Lovett, Daniel W. Hoan, James H. Maurer and Harold U. Faulkner.

* * *

THE LATTIMER-STEVENSON COMPANY
COLUMBUS, OHIO

GARDNER LATTIMER
TREASURER

August 30th, 1932

Mr. Kirby Page,
247 Madison Avenue,
New York, New York.

Dear Kirby,

*ordered
9/1/32*

The Woman's Department of Missions of our State Congregational Christian Conference has become much interested in your book, *Living Creatively*, and would like to have you send 30 copies to Mrs. Lydia Lord Davis, 284 West College Street, Oberlin, Ohio. They are having their annual Retreat in Oberlin Sept. 12th, 13th-14th, and their president believes that there will be demand for a considerable number of these books, which I told her I was sure you would be glad to send for \$1.00 each.

The women's meeting will be followed immediately by a kind of Institute participated in by twenty or thirty of the outstanding leaders of our denomination in the state and between the two groups I feel pretty sure we can dispose of close to this number. I told Mrs. Morse I would assume responsibility for any which may be left over. Please send the bill to me for the thirty copies and please be sure that they are shipped in plenty of time to reach Oberlin by September 10th.

*Dailey
away.
Shipping
delayed
OK
now*

On August 18th I wrote to your office ordering my sixth lot of ten. I yesterday received five copies only. Having received no acknowledgment of my order, I am wondering if there is any complication in this matter. There seems to be somewhat increasing delay in filling these orders but possibly it is only due to the vacation period. I shall much appreciate word as to whether or not the \$1.00 arrangement can be continued indefinitely, as I understood from you it could be. Please be sure to advise me when I may expect the other five copies due on my order of August 18th and when you will be able to ship the 30 copies to Oberlin.

OK

It happens that the Social Relations Committee of the Mid-West Regional Department of the Congregational Christian Church, covering I believe 29 states, is proposing to stimulate a program under the general head of Christian Citizenship. They wish to stimulate the organization of forum discussion groups in churches along a pretty broad and varied line. I suggested to the chairman of the committee your book, *A New Economic Order*, and am wondering whether or not a special price for this book could be secured or whether it is published in pamphlet form suitable for possibly

THE LATTIMER-STEVENSON COMPANY
COLUMBUS, OHIO

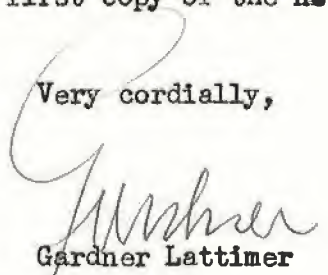
GARDNER LATTIMER
TREASURER

-2-

fairly wide distribution, ^{if} ~~which~~ these discussion groups work out successfully. If this book can be had for \$1.00, or especially if it could be had for less than this amount, please send five to Oberlin, charging them to me and I will see if I cannot stir up some interest in this book too.

I hope you have had a restful vacation and am looking forward with much interest to the first copy of the new World Tomorrow.

Very cordially,


Gardner Lattimer

GL:bm

The Christian Union Quarterly

BALTIMORE—NEW YORK—LONDON—TOKYO

An Interdenominational and International Journal in the
Interest of Reconciliation in the Divided Church of Christ

EDITED BY PETER AINSLIE, D.D., LL.D.

EDITORIAL OFFICE: 230 N. FULTON AVENUE
BALTIMORE, MD.

August 31, 1932



Dr. Kirby Page
World Tomorrow
New York City

Dear Kirby:

In writing you the other day I overlooked saying that I think that the World Tomorrow is making one of the finest contributions of any paper that is published. There is a grip on our social conditions with courage and sanity that heartens me greatly.

I am interested in the World Tomorrow becoming a weekly. That will mean a larger expense but I am hoping the response will be sufficient to maintain it. However, as a monthly I feel it has rendered a service of first importance.

I shall be glad to make a call for subscriptions at the rate of \$1.00 for six months and you can send me six copies for distribution. Times are hard but I rejoice in the fine service you are doing.

Your friend,

Peter Ainslie
Ainslie

✓ G. H.
9/6

September 1, 1932.

Mr. Gardner Lattimer,
Lattimer Stevens Co.,
Columbus, Ohio.

Dear Mr. Lattimer:

Your letter of August 30th is received. Mr. Page is in North Carolina and after attending to your book needs I am forwarding your letter to him for his information.

The 30 copies of Living Creatively will be shipped direct from the publishers at once and should most certainly reach Oberlin by September 10th. They will go by express prepaid. Bill will be sent to you as requested.

I am sorry the previous order for ten copies was delayed. Unfortunately we had just cleaned out the last one of these books the day your order arrived, Friday, August 19. Consequently we could do nothing until more books came in, which, due to the fact that publishers do not remain open on Saturday, was not until the following Monday afternoon, August 22nd. Our regular shipping clerk has been on vacation and the assistant has been trying to keep abreast of three jobs, so it is not to be wondered at that he did not actually ship the books out until the 24th, and then divided the shipment without knowing he had done so. The balance of the books went out on the 28th. We shall try not to let this happen again.

I am sure Mr. Page meant that the price of \$1.00 for Living Creatively to students, teachers, conferences, etc. should prevail as long as the books are in print.

We do not handle A New Economic Order at all. These should be secured through The World Tomorrow Bookshop and I have no idea what the price may be. Perhaps Mr. Page will drop you a line and let you know.

Cordially yours,

Secretary

Editorial for September 7th.

WHERE WE STAND ON PROHIBITION;

In a number of short paragraphs, we desire to outline our attitude toward prohibition.

The liquor traffic is ^{sometimes} a scourge to the human race. (The personal and social evils which flow from it utterly outweigh the satisfaction of individual appetites.) Health, safety, morality, domestic harmony, standards of living, and political integrity are ^{sometimes} all disastrously affected by the sale and consumption of intoxicating liquor.

No (The prohibition of the sale and transportation of strong drink is ethically justifiable for the same reasons that validate the banning of narcotics and the enforcement of traffic regulations. Pacifists as we are, we cannot accept as legitimate the theory that social coercion is immoral or inexpedient. In a complex industrial civilization, numerous social compulsions are imperative if chaos and utter ruin are to be avoided. When a practice or an institution becomes monstrously destructive of human values, its abolition is not only permissible but obligatory.

In an urbanized country, where the various regions are indissolubly linked together by modern means of transportation, national prohibition alone can be made effective. The private automobile, the heavy truck, and the airplane have obliterated state, county and city lines, with the result that prohibition cannot be enforced in one community if a neighboring area is wet.

National prohibition can be upheld only on condition that a considerable majority of the people are willing to observe it and are favorable to its enforcement. A bare majority is insufficient where personal appetites are concerned, evasion is easy, and powerful vested interests are opposed. We are convinced that in 1920 the United States as a whole was overwhelmingly dry. ?

Nevertheless, the necessary substantial majority is now lacking in many regions of this nation. It is probably true to say that most cities in all sections of the country are dripping wet. This fact makes inevitable the breakdown of prohibition in these communities and adjacent territories. The reasons for this drastic reversal of opinion are numerous, and include: the mistaken strategy of the dries in emphasizing law enforcement, instead of stressing temperance education; feeble memories of the terrible evils of the pre-prohibition liquor traffic; the total lack of experience of licensed liquor on the part of young people; the rebellion of this generation against restraints and restrictions of all kinds; and the all too visible vices of imperfectly enforced prohibition.

much better after 1918 what?

This convinced prohibitionists find themselves impaled upon ~~ex-~~
~~cruciating~~ horns. ^{of a dilemma} They are in much the same position as the victims of a certain brand of theology: they are damned if they do, and they are damned if they don't! The liquor traffic is an unmitigated curse to humanity; prohibition is justifiable and desirable, but can be made effective only on a national scale and not then unless a substantial majority of citizens are favorable; dry enforcement is at present impossible in the oceans of metropolitan areas. No wonder, therefore, that lifelong advocates of prohibition are confused and divided in their opinions as to next steps.

Worse confounded is the bewilderment created by the presidential campaign. The dries who regard prohibition as the most vital political issue now find themselves in a most painful position. National prohibition has been repudiated by the three candidates: Republican, Democratic, and Socialist.

Since the Republican party has in these latter years received the enthusiastic support of most dries, it is important to realize how completely President Hoover has abandoned prohibition as a national policy. Here are his exact words:

It is my belief that in order to remedy present evils a change is necessary... It is my conviction that the nature of this change, and one upon which all reasonable people can find common ground, is that each State shall be given the right to deal with the problem as it may determine...

True enough the President is strongly against the return of the saloon and promises to protect dry regions from their wet neighbors. But he cites no evidence and advances no arguments to show that under state prohibition this will be possible. Indeed, the evidence is overwhelmingly to the contrary.

That the President has attempted to scuttle the ship of national prohibition is realized by many of its outstanding advocates, although numerous influential dry Republicans are now campaigning for the President as the lesser of two evils. In commenting upon Mr. Hoover's acceptance speech, Rev. James K. Shields, superintendent of the New Jersey Anti-Saloon League, says: "It is terribly disappointing... Now Mr. Hoover is running on a platform nearly the same as Al Smith ran on..." Bishop Richardson, national president of the Anti-Saloon League, confesses: "I am greatly disappointed... It seems to me almost childish to say that since one plan has not been able to be enforced successfully, forty-eight plans will succeed in enforcement." Dr. Clarence True Wilson, of the Methodist Board of Prohibition, declares that the President's address will not meet with the "moral conditions of the drys, who elected him by a majority of millions four years ago." The Christian Century has been so consistently and passionately dry that in the past three campaigns it successively supported Mr. Harding, Mr. Coolidge, and Mr. Hoover. Yet it now says that the President's acceptance speech "makes it difficult for defenders of the eighteenth amendment to wax enthusiastic over his candidacy. They are now in much the same position as Senator Borah - they cannot support Mr. Hoover 'on this platform.'" This journal goes on to say that if the drys elect Mr. Hoover, "they help to swell a popular presumption against the retention of the eighteenth amendment."

Although the President has proved himself to be an apostate to the cause of national prohibition, he is not so wet as Governor Roosevelt. If we were to determine our vote solely on the prohibition question, we should cast our ballot for Mr. Hoover. But the actual and practical difference between the two candidates is so slight that the subordination of other extremely vital problems would seem to us the height of folly. For years the religious forces of the country have regarded prohibition as the moral issue to which all other political questions must be subordinated, with the result that the most reactionary of our political parties has received the votes and prayers of a vast majority of church members.

Not 3 !! As ardently dry as are the editors of The World Tomorrow, they are convinced that economic and international issues are paramount in the presidential campaign and should determine the "moral" vote of the country. With regard to these questions the Socialist candidate stands on a lofty peak above his opponents in the swamps below. The most significant political victory that could be won by the religious people of the nation this year would be the polling of several million votes for Norman Thomas.

After the election is over, we shall return to a discussion of the various alternatives open to prohibitionists. We agree with The Christian Century that "a presidential campaign, and especially such a campaign as that of this year, is not the time or the method of coming to terms with the liquor problem." And so in the meantime we propose to devote our energies to the all-important task of undermining capitalism and swelling the incoming tide of socialism.